

11 December 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. R. J. Smith

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Mr. Richard Lehman

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SUBJECT : Key Vietnamese Documents

1. One of the problems that has beset the US Government in connection with the complex issue of Vietnam has been the genuine ignorance in academic and opinion-molding circles about the nature of Vietnamese Communism and the plans, aspirations or broad strategy of the Lao Dong Party over the past two and a half decades. One of the principal reasons for this widespread ignorance has been the dearth of readily available primary source material. Actually there is a lot of material lying around, but relatively little of it is easily accessible to or useable by scholars or serious students of current affairs.

2. For some time it has seemed to me that the US Government could do the academic world and the public at large a considerable service, and in the process reap a great deal of indirect benefit itself, by making the real record on Vietnamese Communist Party history and intentions easy to come by and to use. Over the years we have acquired by capture or other means a rich haul of major documents which, in the aggregate, shed a great deal of objective light on a number of topics now debated with considerably more passion than knowledge. Some branch of the government (not this Agency) should publish such documents in a kind of monograph series, within which each major document could be separately published under a uniform format. This series could be made available at cost to universities, libraries, research institutions and interested individuals. For the series to have maximum

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utility each document published therein should be well and carefully translated and should be prefaced by a concise but clear note giving enough of its background or mode of acquisition to enable readers to form their own valid judgments of its authenticity. Furthermore, there should be a modest critical apparatus in each publication -- none of it polemic -- which simply would clarify allusions, dates or references to incidents or individuals whose import might not be clear to the non-specialized reader.

25X1A 3. I intend to float this idea as a serious proposal to the Sullivan Committee in the fairly near future. The idea stands a better chance of being favorably received, however, if it is buttressed by essential preliminary homework. Appended hereto is a list compiled by Mr. [REDACTED] of the documents he feels are suitable candidates for inclusion in such a series. (Through bureaucratic inertia, some of them are still classified, but none of them really warrant security classification at this time.) I would appreciate it if the recipients of this memorandum or their colleagues would review this list and offer any suggestions they have for additions, deletions or other modifications.

[REDACTED]  
Special Assistant for Vietnamese Affairs

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Attachment

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Selected Documents on Vietnamese Communism  
(1951 - 1970)

1. Reportage on the founding of the Central Offices or Directorates for South Vietnam, Central Trung Bo and the Viet Bac Zone. (VNA, June 1951). This report provides an invaluable insight into the establishment of COSVN. U
2. Internal Party directive dealing with the creation of COSVN. (June 1951; this document, which includes the membership list of COSVN, was captured by the French and has been released already). U
3. NHAN DAN, South Vietnam edition, editorial on the Geneva Agreements. (VNA, August 1954). U
4. Letter from the Central Directorate of the Workers Party for the South, i.e. COSVN, to the populace on the Geneva Agreements. (VNA, August 1954). U
5. Nam Bo Party document discussing the Geneva Agreements. (November 1954; this document was released with the "Working Paper on the North Vietnamese Role in the War in South Vietnam") U
6. Communique on the 10th session the Party Central Committee announcing the demotion of Truong Chinh and criticizing the land reform program. (VNA, October 1956) U
7. "The South Vietnam Revolutionary Line," dated probably in late 1956 or early 1957. This is an important document that sets forth the Party's political struggle line in the South. (Acquired from scholar Jeffrey Race's series of documents and translated by JPRS) U
8. "The South Vietnam Revolutionary Line of the Party Central Committee." (June 1958, acquisition unknown). This is a study booklet that was translated by JPRS. U

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9. Communique on the January 1959 15th session of the Central Committee. (VNA, May 1959) It was at this meeting that the Central Committee signaled the green light for an armed struggle to be waged in the South. U
- \* 10. "Situation in Nam Bo from the Restoration of Peace (1954) until now (1959)." (CDEC, this together with a number of other documents was captured by Special Forces in spring 1969 near Bu Prang). This very important document is unusually frank, and in fact, reads almost like a self-criticism statement of the Nam Bo Regional Party Committee. C
11. Truong Chinh HOC TAP article of January 1960, "The Strategic Line of Our Party," (JPRS translation). He cites Resolution 15. U
12. Le Duan's report at the Party's Third National Congress, September 1960. (VNA) He cites the need for the establishment of a front in South Vietnam. U
13. Resolution of the Party's Third National Congress, September 1960. (VNA) U
- \* 14. COSVN Resolution 1, October 1961. (CDEC, Bu Prang document). C
- \* 15. Report presented at the first COSVN conference that surveys the political struggle movement in Nam Bo from 1954 until the present (1961). (CDEC, Bu Prang document). C
- \* 16. September 1963 COSVN directive on the missions for the coming six months. (CDEC, Bu Prang document). C
- + \* 17. COSVN Resolution 2, late 1963 or early 1964. (CDEC, Bu Prang document). C
- \* 18. Central Committee Resolution dealing with South Vietnam adopted at the 9th plenum, December 1963. (CDEC, captured data is unknown on one copy of the document; another copy was captured in Cambodia.) This very important document analyzes the post-Diem situation and pledges that North Vietnam would increase its aid to the South. C
- + 17A. "Crimp Document; probably written in late 1963, this is a notebook that belonged to a high-level party official in South Vietnam. (Document was released). U

19. Central Committee Resolution on the international Communist movement adopted at the 9th plenum, December 1963. The resolution comes down hard against revisionism and criticizes the CPSU. (Document was released in 1967). U
- \* 20. April 1964 COSVN Standing Committee report on the situation in South Vietnam from 1961-1964. (CDEC, Bu Prang document) C
21. Politburo (or Central Committee) assessment of the situation as disseminated by General Nguyen Chi Thanh when he came south in November 1964. (Captured in Cambodia by U. S. forces in 1970.) C
- \* 22. COSVN Resolution 3, January 1965. (CDEC, Bu Prang document). C
- \* 23. Resolution of the Regional (South Vietnam) Military Party Committee, January 1965. (CDEC, capture data unknown). C
- \* 24. COSVN Standing Committee meeting minutes, May 1965. (CDEC, Bu Prang document). C
- \* 25. COSVN Standing Committee Resolution, August 1965. (CDEC, Bu Prang document). C
- \* 26. Resolution of the Regional (South Vietnam) Military Party Committee, January 1966. (CDEC, Bu Prang document). C
27. Address given by Le Duan at the 12th plenum of the Central Committee in December 1965. (Commonly referred to as the Le Duan letter, this document is actually a copy of Le Duan's remarks at the plenum. One copy of the document was released in 1967 and another copy of the same document was captured in Cambodia in 1970). U
28. COSVN Resolution 4, April 1967. (Document was released in 1967.) U
29. "Comrade Vinh's" talk before the fourth COSVN conference, spring 1967. (Document was released in 1967.) U
- \* 30. COSVN Standing Committee May 1966 directive on the study of the Central Committee's 12th resolution and COSVN's 4th resolution. (CDEC, Bu Prang document). C

- \* 31. Resolution of the 2nd Political Conference of the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces, August 1966. (CDEC, Bu Prang document). C
- \* 32. "Anh Ba" (aka for Le Duan) letter to the Saigon Party Committee and comrade Tu Anh (aka for Tran Bach Bang) discussing the role of the cities in the revolution. The document was written sometime in late 1966 or 1967, but before the Tet Offensive in any event. (CDEC, document was captured in mid-1969 by 1st U.S. Inf. Div.) C
- 33. Statement issued by the "Headquarters of the Revolutionary Armed Forces," January 31, 1968, to the Vietnamese people announcing that the "general offensive against the Thieu-Ky clique which we have waited for so long has arrived." (Liberation Radio and NHAN DAN, February 1968). U
- 34. COSVN Resolution 6, March-April 1968; discusses general offensive concept. (Document was released in July 1968) U
- 35. COSVN Resolution 9, July 1969. (Document was released in 1969.) U
- 36. PRP Central Committee letter to Party members on the study of what it calls the PRP Central Committee's Resolution 9, thus confirming anew by implication that COSVN and the PRP Central Committee are identical. (Liberation Radio, February 1970.) U
- 37. Speech delivered by an unnamed member of the PRP Central Committee at the Nguyen Ai Quoc school in which he talks about the "party apparatus in the South" and says that the successes of the revolution in the South are due to the leadership of the Central Committee headed by Ho Chi Minh. (Liberation Radio, February 1970). U

U - Unclassified

C - Confidential

\* Document needs retranslation either in parts or completely.

Suggested Appendices:

- I. \* Party History as related by Tran Van Giau, an old Party-hand, in a series of 1958-59 HOC TAP articles (JPRS translation). U

Party History issued on the Party's 30th anniversary in 1960. (DRV English-language publication). U

- \* Party History issued on the Party's 35th anniversary in 1965. (JPRS translation from the press). U

Party History issued on the Party's 40th anniversary in 1970 (JPRS translation). U

- II. Party Statutes from the Second National Congress, February 1951. (JPRS translation of booklet). C

Party Statutes from the Third National Congress, September 1960. (FBIS translation from the press.) Both the 1951 and still valid 1960 statutes include provisions for the establishment of central directorates like COSVN. U

Statute of the People's Revolutionary Party. (FBIS translation of booklet). U

- III. Platform of the Vietnam Workers Party, March 1951. (DRV handout). U

- IV. DRV Constitution, January 1960. (VNA). U

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| AREA OR COUNTRY(S)   | ORGANIZATION | FUNCTION AND DATES | RESPONSIBILITIES | DOCUMENT        |
| Vietnam  | Communism    | Documents          | Jr               | DATE: 11 Dec 70 |
|  |              |                    |                  | CLASS.: C       |
|  |              |                    |                  | NO.:            |
| IDENTIFICATION OF DOCUMENT (author, form, addressee, title & length)               |              |                    |                  | CLASSIFICATION: |
| 25X1A<br>Memorandum for: Mr R J Smith, [REDACTED] Mr Richard Lehman, Mr [REDACTED] |              |                    |                  | HS/HC-923       |
| Subject: Key Vietnamese Documents  |              |                    |                  |                 |
| ABSTRACT   |              |                    |                  |                 |

List of Key Documents on Vietnamese Communism (1951-1970)

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